579 nothing had been done. Probably more than personal motives lay back of the killing, but it was impossible to discover them.

583 Marriage customs are another frequent source of conflicts reaching the mayor. Ordinarily a boy "kidnaps" the girl he is going to marry. The kidnapping is public and usually nothing is done about it, but the boy may be forced to marry the girl if he does not go through with the ceremony in a reasonable time. Occasionally, though, the girl's relatives make so much commotion that the mayor has [683] to act. If the kidnapping has been "legitimate," that is, the boy intends to marry the girl, usually the men participating in the kidnapping are thrown in jail for 2 or 3 hours and released with an admonition, almost certainly given with tongue in cheek.

583 In other cases the matter may become more 684 serious, especially if it is exploited by the girl. One example will illustrate the situation.

A boy stopped to talk with a girl of dubious morals. When he left, she followed him, saying she was going home with him. The boy ran away and hid. Later in the day the girl's parents came to the mayor and claimed the boy had kidnapped the girl. The boy was ordered

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RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

771 Religion in Cherán revolves about the church and the formalized practices and beliefs associated with it. In addition, there is a lively belief in witchcraft, plus a body of miscellaneous and unorganized beliefs and customs. In the main, the organized ceremonials, aside from those associated with life crises, which are dealt with in another section, are linked with the church and are group or community affairs. The ceremonials and rituals connected with witchcraft and miscellaneous beliefs are primarily individual in character and are not organized in any way, although there is a certain gradation between the two types of ceremonial with respect to organization.

794 The church ceremonials and rituals are of 796 four types. Central to the system are those church rituals and ceremonies which follow more or less conventional Mexican Catholic lines and are wholly under the direction of the

[text continues on middle of p. 116b]

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175 formed a council of elders who controlled
623 community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

175 This is the system which seems to be
171 typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle and South America.[16] It has been best characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17]
621 where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

175 Native religion before the Spanish con-
771 quest was based on a number of gods representing the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor (clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the
175 Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced
797 on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood
[178] replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

175 Every Indian community was provided
794 with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

175 Very important in this new religion were
796 the festivals connected with the yearly cycle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

178 Part of the native religion not related
771 to the Church rituals survived, because of the considerable community autonomy, mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 442-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 56-68.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

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178 and the native elements incorporated into
771 the local Catholic cult made up an important part of the local folk culture of each community.

* * *

171 That Michoacan followed the same general process as the rest of peasant Mexico is well attested in a number of sources. West's recent survey of the cultural geography of Michoacan includes colonial data on the economic aspects (population, agriculture, settlements, and handicrafts) which show that Michoacan developed along the same lines as the rest of Mexico.[19] These economic aspects will be considered further, for many still survive into modern times. The politico-religious organization of colonial times will be discussed later.

THE DECLINE OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

177 Together with the patterning of Indian
423 communities after Spanish townships, the Spaniards introduced into Mexico private ownership of land. They acquired large
178 estates *(haciendas)* which were worked with Negro or Indian labor and whose produce was primarily destined for the national or world market. These two types of land tenure, — communal property of village communities and private property of haciendas, — have been in conflict throughout the history of Mexico. This conflict began early in colonial times; it reached its climax with the almost complete destruction of the village communities at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present.

668 With Mexican independence began the
177 application of political and economic policies of liberalism, and greater decay of the village communities set in.

423 The Indians were no longer considered a special caste under a different system of law, but Mexican citizens with equal rights. Although Indian tribute was abolished, the Indians also lost the protections afforded by the *Leyes de Indias* to their autonomous government.[20] The most important blow to the Indian village community, though, was the loss of their economic foundation: communal ownership of land.

175 Three centuries after the Spanish con-
794 quest, the Church had become the largest landowner of the country. The fight for
423 abolishing ownership of land held in mortmain by the church came to be the dominant fact in the nineteenth century history
668 of Mexico.

19. West, 1948.
20. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 4.

771 In the Introduction, concepts of folk and national culture were presented. In Mexican Indian cultures the most distinctive aspects of folk religion are to be found in what we might call unorganized religion, i. e., those beliefs and rituals calling only for private ceremonials which are not connected with the Church and related ceremonial groups; they usually center around technological or life cycle activities. For instance, agricultural rites or concepts of diseases and ways of curing them are fields where more folk culture, and also more pre-Spanish survivals, are found.

771 177 Among the Tarascans, their connection with national life, greater than that of other Indian groups, has meant greater acculturation to the national culture. Technological rites are almost non-existent. One finds only miscellaneous beliefs about cooking, the hearth, or the influence of the [241] moon on plants. Only corn agriculture has a few more religious associations in the more conservative villages where idols are [821] kept in the cornfield and candles are lighted to them. There are also a number of [824] tales and beliefs about corn and the weather.

796 In the life cycle ceremonies the main religious aspects today are those of Catholicism (the sacraments). Only witchcraft and [754] some concepts of disease form any significant part of the folk religion, although [177] they are dominated by ideas about the saints and the Devil, and historically are of Spanish more than of Indian origin.

779 Unorganized (non-Church) religion is comparatively unimportant among the Tarascans. Most religion in the Tarascan culture has to be described in terms of the Church, a national (and international) institution with its own ideology, personnel, organization and particular interests. As it appears in Tarascan villages, there is a clear difference between national and folk components of religion. On the one hand are the priest and his connection to the hierarchy; and elements of the cult such as the sacraments, mass, rosary, etc., which follow the rules of the international Church. Other aspects of belief and ritual, on the other hand, though connected with those of the Church, are locally organized and peculiar to the local subculture. This is what we call folk Catholicism.

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RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

In the preceding chapter, changes in the organization and ceremonials of folk Catholicism have been examined, as affected by economic and social developments within the local and the national cultures. The trends in religious ideas and folklore will presently be discussed as related to those same factors, and particularly to the political conflict whose relation to religion and the cult organization has been described.

An important trait of Tarascan folk Catholicism (as of Catholicism in general) is the ethical nature of its ideology, dominated by concepts of good and evil. Non-ethical concepts are relegated to a second plane constituting mere miscellaneous beliefs, or, in so far as they form a system of ideas, are part of wider concepts dominated by an ethical dichotomy.

In examining the relation of such a religion to social change, we find an interesting problem of how the social values at stake in the economic and social conflict are reflected in religious ideology. What do religious ideas tell about the agraristas, about the cargo system of sponsoring festivals, about the sinarquistas who are militantly Catholic and yet to some extent are in conflict with the traditional cult system? Is conflict between national influences on the folk culture and folk resistance to change reflected in the folklore? What is the attitude of different political groups toward the existing body of religious ideology?

In order to discuss this relation of religious ideology to social change, an outline of religious ideas and beliefs, as dominated by the good and evil concept, will be presented. This outline is based on folk narratives, mainly myths and experiences with the supernatural, which express religious concepts. A discussion of narrative types will be sketched in order to place them in a wider setting.

The social values sanctioned in religious ideology will then be examined. It will be seen that primarily they endorse the values of the traditional folk culture although they are in conflict with influences from the national culture. Also, in the same way as the ideology of folk Catholicism is part of the wider Catholic religion,

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4 RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

it also sanctions the national values of the Church. Political conflict mentioned in folklore seems to reflect almost exclusively the conservative point of view. Religious people can put it to use to point out the wisdom of following their party and to present the opponent as wicked.

The tendencies which are disrupting the folk culture do not create a new body of folklore. Even religious people, like the sinarquistas, allied to the church, keep only that part of the religion which is more orthodox, and neglect that which is purely folk. Here, as with the agraristas, changes in the religious ideology and folklore do not create a new folklore but induce changes in the *function* of the old, leading to obsolescence. The different attitudes of belief will consequently be considered.[1]

Main Traits of Tarascan Religious Ideology

In contrast to what is reported for other Mexican folk cultures[2] the Tarascans do not classify their folk narratives into well defined types according to the story's characters or the didactical or recreative use of the tale. All tales are called *uandánɛkua*, (from *uandáni*, to tell, to speak; in Spanish, *cuento*). Sometimes, at least in Jarácuaro, the Spanish word (pronounced *kuéntu*) is used in Tarascan discourse. Its meaning, however, seems to be synonymous with *uandánɛkua*. Everything which is told can be called a tale. This does not mean of course that all narratives are of the same type; it means only that Tarascan culture and language do not recognize standard categories of tales. Different types are to some extent recognized in that some are told as true experiences, usually giving concrete place and personal names, while in others the action takes place in unnamed places and among unknown people. Informants are themselves aware of this possible distinction. Sometimes the word *uandánɛkua* (or *kuéntu*) is

1. This chapter is based almost exclusively on the author's field work. A complete field report will contain a full collection of tales. As this is not yet published, references to it are not possible. Most information comes from Jarácuaro, a strongly religious and conservative village, with sinarquismo as the dominant tendency.
2. M. Redfield, 1935.

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538 greater magical knowledge and were stronger, braver, and cleverer than the modern people.

These are the main types of narratives. Animal stories are another common type, similar to the Æsopian fable. They are considered fictitious and are told for their entertainment value. Usually they are funny and meant to make people laugh. When asked for tales (meaning fiction) many informants think most readily of this kind of story. Other types of tales, such as jokes, sexy stories, etc., are less common and are not used in this work as they do not reflect religious concepts.

● 771 Religious ideas are also expressed in
538 what in Spanish are called beliefs (*creencias*): items of lore giving bits of knowledge of the supernatural, as, for instance, omens or the wondrous qualities of certain animals. Sometimes these beliefs treat of a special behavior; for example, the rules about what a pregnant woman should or should not do, or the magical procedures to follow in a technological activity. These beliefs are to some people rules which have to be followed. For many people, however, they are just sayings one does not have to care about. They say, "This is just a belief," meaning "Some people say that, but it is not true."

538 Thus, folk narratives, an expression of the religious ideas of the people, can mean different things to different people. To those to whom a given tale is a true happening, it has a moral meaning and may sanction a certain kind of behavior. The same happening or tale may be to others an example of how superstitious people are. It will have no moral meaning, sanction, or behavior, although it may be told as an entertaining tale or piece of information.

538 The religious ideology expressed through such narratives will now be examined at
779 its face value, while the different attitudes of belief will later be discussed.

* * *

The general concepts of Tarascan folklore and religion are those of Catholicism. The Christian God created the world and the supernaturals, including the Devil and the saints. The fundamental Christian concept of good and evil is also paramount in Tarascan folklore and religion. This opposition of good and evil appears in a number of contrasts. Everything is classified as one or the other: God and the saints, the good supernaturals who inhabit

183 as a beggar loses his wealth. He who fails
688 to make a promised pilgrimage dies in an accident. The man who does not pay for the mass he promised Saint Francis is sent back to earth after his death so he will fulfill his pledge.

A number of cases refer to Carácuaro, a place in the Tierra Caliente the Tarascans visit very often, where a famous Christ is venerated. The pilgrim who gets tired on the road and gives up the trip remains behind enchanted on a mountain. The woman who complains about the heat and does not want to go on, and the dancers who danced before they reach the town are punished by being turned to stone.

The punishment of sacrilege is a common theme. The revolutionary colonel who beats the Christ of Carácuaro becomes very sick and cannot die until he asks for pardon. The landowner who tries to dissuade his peons from going to church is burned with his cigarette. The men building a movie house in Pátzcuaro where formerly a church stood are subject to fatal accidents. Sacrilegious behavior of the agraristas is the cause of God's sending the volcano to Parícutin. According to different stories, they destroy a cross, steal the Holy Host, or throw an image of Christ to a bull.

The blessing given by the church is essential. Everything which has not its
[778] approval (blessing) is bad: animals which have been created by the Devil and not by God or the saints, and which consequently have not been blessed — coyotes, snakes, the fish taken from a pool which has not been blessed; money coming from the Devil; and of course the non-baptized.

[773] The same theme occurs in myths. People
[172] who lived before the blessing of the world are bad; their ruins are haunted places and their idols are devils. Enchanted people are devils and have to be blessed by a priest before becoming normal beings.

183 Thus, Tarascan religious ideology and folklore primarily sanction the values of
●771 the folk culture. They support the family (understood in terms of local culture), attack witchcraft, defend private property and the proper observance of the folk religion. In their defense of poverty can be seen a defense of the Indian way of life. The money economy imposed from the outside is a disruptive influence in the village community, creating conflict within it or the loss of land to outsiders. The
[776] Devil giving money always appears as a

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well dressed non-Indian (*catrín*). The traditional sponsorship of religious festivals (*cargos*) also disrupts the social order in the villages because of their rôle in impoverishing the sponsors. The Devil steps in to get the carguero's soul by providing the money he needs to hold the festival. The folk value of cargos prevails, however, as the saint proceeds to save the carguero.

In so far as Tarascan religion is part of the national religion, a certain national social order and certain institutions are also supported. Adherence to the priest and to the dictates of the Church indicates such an endorsement of the church's national rôle and the social order which it supports. The moment there are anticlerical groups considered devilish because of their opposition to the Church, the whole weight of this body of belief is brought against them.

Similarly, defense of property, which in terms of local culture is defense of small property, can become support of a national order based on large property (as in the story defending the hacienda owner). Sanction of poverty can mean defense of the Indian way of life against intrusion, but viewed nationally, unequal distribution of wealth is sanctioned by virtue of poverty and the social order based on it.

Tarascan ideology, then, sanctions the traditional folk culture, but conflict with the outside is evident, and the fact that the folk culture is part of a wider society means that a certain national order is also sanctioned.

B. SUPERNATURAL SANCTIONS IN SOCIAL CONFICT

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In previous chapters we have examined the agrarista movement and its anticlerical character. This anticlericalism resulted on the one hand in the agrarista's connection with the national anticlerical government from which he expected to receive lands, and in the opposition met in the Church itself, which was nationally opposed to the agrarian reforms. On the other hand, the main local cause for the agrarista anticlericalism was the cargo system for the local cult organization, which exacted too much from the Indians and was in many cases responsible for the loss of their lands.

We also gave the reasons for opposition to the agraristas and for their decline in villages where small landowners prevailed, and the following success of the Catholic reaction. Within this reaction the trend

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668 538 Not enough data are available for us to say whether or not stories of this type are as common among the agraristas as the anti-agrarista motifs are frequent among the opposite party. The existing material suggests that such is not the case. Agrarista informants tell the same stories and experiences as the more conservative informants, whose stories sanction folk culture values. Their political position shows rather in the attitude with which they tell the story, one of disbelief.

* * *

771 538 Tarascan religious ideas and folklore sanction the Church and the proper observance of the cult, both in their local (folk culture) and national aspects.

The stories and case histories collected show an abundant use of religious motifs to point out the wickedness of the anticlerical agraristas. Those stories are told from the point of view of the traditional folk culture. The militant Catholics who are partly in conflict with that folk culture also tell such stories, for they attack their agrarista adversaries and sanction allegiance to the Church with which they are closely connected. In that aspect (cargos) in which they oppose the traditional folk culture, they do not use religious motifs except in that they support the priest who denies the need for this activity. Their attitude is one of lack of belief in those traditional ideas which sanctioned the sponsorship of festivals. They, like the agraristas, show a lack of belief in the traditional concepts of folk religion.

The Ideology of the Folk Religion in Decline: Attitudes of Belief

771 The social content of the religious ideology having been examined, we can now discuss how the change in this ideology is expressed in different belief attitudes which consequently involve changes in the meaning, use and function of a given religious concept or myth. We shall find different attitudes as to belief, and we shall try to correlate them with the economic and political tendencies discussed in previous chapters. We shall see how the breaking down of a folk religion involves a change from total belief in the content of the folk religious concepts and myths, towards skepticism, disbelief, and acceptance of outside (national) opinions. This change is not gradual and uniform, but results in extreme attitudes which can be

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771 correlated with the different parties in the political conflict.

In the previously presented outline of that part of the religious ideology which is related to the concepts of good and evil, the material was arranged by the author and discussed as though it were a single body of opinion, attitude, and beliefs. Actually, what any single Indian knows and believes is not so well integrated. In reality there are great differences in the kind of material any one individual knows and is able to supply. A discussion of variability in folklore could be made in terms of individual participation in this aspect of culture; the different individuals' knowledge of folklore could be related to sex, age, status, personality, and other factors. Such a discussion is not attempted in this paper.

538 One also finds great variability in the attitude toward the folklore material any one particular individual knows. This has already been pointed out in discussing types of narratives. What to one informant may be a true happening which God allowed to take place so that men can learn how to behave, to another is a fictitious story told for fun. What some tell as powerful and true manifestations of the supernatural, others tell jokingly as something which superstitious people do and believe.

771 These different belief attitudes are related to folk and national levels of culture (particularly in religion), and to the social 668 and political groups described in previous chapters.

We have been describing the change processes in terms of three main tendencies: (1) the traditionalist — following and advocating strict adherence to the values of traditional folk culture, even to the extent of opposing the priest; (2) the agrarista (agrarian reformer)—anticlerical and the most closely connected with policies of the national government; and (3) the militant Catholic. The last, reacting against the economic and religious agrarista policies, but partially in conflict themselves with the traditional folk culture, tend to follow a more orthodox Catholicism, and in national politics, connect themselves with the Church and the sinarquista movement.

In the ideological realm, as to the question of how much people believe in the content of their folk religion, we can also describe three attitudes which correspond to the above socio-political tendencies: (1) Correlated with the traditionalist group is an attitude characterized by total belief in

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771/668 the folk religion and the content of folklore. Most people, however, show a certain degree of disbelief. Among some (2) this goes with criticism of the Church and with the acceptance of the rational point of view taught in school. This attitude can be correlated with the agrarista position in politics. Among many people (3) some items of lore and religion are doubted or dismissed but always under the acceptance of basic religious tenets and of Church authority. The trend is thus towards a greater orthodoxy within Catholicism, by abandoning beliefs of the purely folk level. This is paralleled by the militant Catholic position in politics.

These three attitudes are ideal types in terms of which we describe individual behavior. In reality they are not necessarily pure nor does every individual connected with a particular political tendency have in every way the attitude which we correlate with that tendency. Individual differences are determined not only by political affiliation but also by personality and cultural participation in general.

771 In order better to see the balance of change we will discuss first the traditionalist position. This represents the folk culture point of view of the village community.

In the formal aspects of religion, the more conservative, traditionalist individuals or towns attach greater importance to private rituals like those connected with agriculture or witchcraft. Also, the religion based on the folk cult of the saints is the most important. These people insist on the need to continue cargos and fiestas. They oppose the priests who attempt to change this and scorn Catholics who do not care for cargos. In the field of belief, total belief in religious concepts and tales corresponds to the above attitudes. Cargos are believed to be a way of serving God and the saints, necessary to reach heaven. [773] Myths are believed. Experiences with the supernatural are told as true happenings and even wonder stories are supposed to be true.

A few examples will illustrate this attitude:

539 **Maximino tells how he has seen the Devil on two occasions, once as a woman and another time as a donkey. Once he discovered an attempt to bewitch him and in another case he caught a witch who had taken the shape of an owl. Once a heavy plank fell on him while he was building a house. He became unconscious**

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539 a snake. Agustin takes this very much to heart: "If that sucker had stood up, all the riches would be now his and the town's."

Pablo tells some story of the trickster, Pedro de Urdemalas. And he comments, "Those ancients were really clever, weren't they?"

771 Informants like Maximino, totally convinced of the truth of their stories, are
181 rather unusual. This attitude is found only in a few people, mainly old-timers.
178 Many informants have that same credulous attitude on many points, but some skepticism is also present. New attitudes away from total belief in folk ideas are found among most people, and those active in both agrarista or sinarquista movements share in them.

It appears that as the village community becomes increasingly part of the external world, greater acceptance of outside ideology sets in. When Indians are more drawn into the division of labor in the greater society, they begin to accept as part of this division of labor the fact that it is the outsider's job (Church, school, etc.) to rule on matters pertaining to ideology (religion, science, and so on). Unlike Maximino, who is sure of the truth of his stories, most people are full of doubts and when talking with the ethnographer express the idea that he (the ethnographer), as one coming from the outside, knows better than they do the answers to his questions.

821 "Who knows, really?" or "Who knows
812 what the truth is?" is a common answer to questions about the nature of the world, the sun, the moon, the volcano, and so on. Often people will confess their ignorance and ask questions in their turn. Sometimes they think it silly that such questions are put to them: "When will the volcano go out? Why! Even the geologists don't know." "How can we know the shape of the world? Some people of this town have never been even in Morelia [state capital]."

773 In relation to the different types of narratives we have described, the same process of change is apparent. Myths are sometimes doubted as perhaps not in keeping with the teachings of the Church. A complete creation myth, for instance, was recorded only after the informant, Mateo, had provided many other tales. When asked why he didn't tell this before, he answered, "I didn't think you would like it." "Is it true?" "Who knows, what do you think? I guess it is only a tale."

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538 Mateo likes to tell long and elaborate entertainment stories. When a myth is not quite believed and becomes entertainment, wonder stories seem to be preferred. Also stories learned in school or read from books are highly appreciated. In Jarácuaro (874 inhabitants) two copies of the *Arabian Nights* were located in the possession of literate informants. Some other informants gave stories from that source, considering it among their best. Some were aware of the provenience of the story, but not others.

Experiences with the supernaturals which express this attitude of doubt are often told. Manuel, after telling of a supposed magician, says, "I wonder if this is true or if they just go around playing the suckers." Not only are some experiences doubted; one hears "false experiences," which ridicule certain beliefs. They cause great hilarity and it is to be supposed that they spread skepticism. Some examples follow:

539 771 A woman once told her brother that her husband had gone to the mountains in order to ask the Devil for money. Her brother thought, I am going to answer. He went after his brother-in-law and he heard him shouting, 'Devil, Devil. I want money.' His brother-in-law spoke to him. 'Come here then.' And when he came near to him, he beat him with a whip and he told him, 'Here you have your money.' The other fellow ran to his house and he was so ashamed that when his brother-in-law arrived he went to the attic.

• • •

A widow asks the sexton if the dead really come back at Hallowe'en, so that she can wait for her husband. The sexton instructs her to wait for him and have ready brandy and other things he liked to eat. In the night the sexton goes to the house and passes as the husband and asks for money and brandy. When he leaves he is drunk and falls asleep on the street. Next morning the woman leaves the house and finds that the man she thought was her husband has not been able to go back to the dead. She sees it is the sexton. "You damn —. This man made a fool of me." She takes a stick and beats him and the sexton runs away. And from that day she does not ask any more questions about the dead.

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A boy's sweetheart gives him some food. He suspects she might be trying to bewitch him and takes the food to BA (the town's best known witch). BA tells him the food is dangerous and he keeps it to bury it. When

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771 [539] the boy leaves, BA eats it and says, 'What an easy life, that of a sorcerer.'

771 178 668 This basic trend of change is found in both convinced agraristas and militant Catholics, but there are also differences which warrant a discussion.

The disbelief attitude is sometimes pushed to an extreme, including doubt as to religion, the authority of the Church, and the need for the cult. We saw how the agraristas identified fiestas with the social order they attacked, and tried to suppress them and the cult completely. A critical position toward religion and the Church is also found among some people who have been subjected to outside influence, including sometimes outside education, and whose political ideas would be called 'radical' although they are not directly connected with local agrarista policies. This can be considered direct national influence.

178 771 These people scorn the others as superstitious, fanatics, fools. Myths or experiences with the supernaturals are not believed and are told as something some people do or believe. The language used by Leandro in describing how the people of Cocucho thought their Virgin was weeping tears of blood is typical:

[539] [781] "... And as in this town there are a lot of superstitious people, the following day ... the woman praying the rosary began shouting and crying as the Virgin was weeping tears of blood because Saint Peter had left .... And what really happened was that the wind waved the red paper hangings used as ornaments in the church and they were reflected on the image of the Virgin."

771 668 For the militant Catholics, agraristas are nothing but atheists. They describe them as people who have no religion, as is proved by the fact that they close the churches, ban the priests, and deal sacrilegiously with sacred objects, even destroying and burning the images of the saints.

Negation of the existence of God was recorded by an informant in Arócutin, but we do not have enough material to say to what extent this position obtains. More material from towns preponderantly agrarista is necessary before we can know to what extent lack of belief in the basic teachings of the Church arose in part locally or is due only to the fact that this group has been more under the direct

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influence of the Government and its anti-Church policies.

In another agrarista informant, we find also the attitude that the saints are good but the priests are bad. This Ichan informant, although an agrarista, advised the people to hide the saints when he learned that the agraristas of other Cañada towns were coming to burn them.

The available material suggests that in the agrarista party, we would find among some people (mainly those with more outside connections and education) opinions approximating almost complete lack of belief in God, the saints, and dogmas of the Church, although perhaps believing in witchcraft. Some others would oppose the Church and the priests for political reasons but keep withal a fair amount of belief. This would compare with the existence of both traditionalists and modern tendencies in the Catholic reaction against the agraristas.

The fact remains, however, that among some people the trend away from folk religion goes with opposition to the Church and lack of belief in it. Just the opposite is observed among the militant Catholics.

The dominant milieu in most Tarascan towns — including Jarácuaro where most of this material comes from — was formed in the struggle against the agraristas. This reaction we have described as not uniform but embracing both the more conservative people, who are decidedly for the folk culture values, and the more modern, in part opposed to the folk culture, who have lately come under the influence of the sinarquista party. It is this more modern tendency within the Catholic movement which we will briefly characterize here. In it the folk ideology is in decadence, but, for political reasons, people in this group are strongly religious both in allegiance to the Church and in belief.

These are two extreme positions. It is not possible to fit every individual into one or the other group, as many people are not politically active, and both groups work together against the agraristas. They both favor religion. Differences occur when those of the more 'modern' point of view try to change the fiestas and cargos, and follow the priest who also wants to change the folk religion better to fit Catholic orthodoxy. The position against cargos among leading sinarquistas in Jarácuaro has been mentioned before. This position

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771 is seen not only in their behavior but also
668 in the fact that their ideas about cargos
are changing. Whereas for the traditional-
ist, cargos are a necessary service to God
[782] in order to reach heaven, some Catholics
oppose this idea. They say it is only
custom, an unnecessary expenditure of
money, not required to be a good Catholic,
and they are supported by the priest.
When discussing this point, Manuel has a
ready argument: "Do you have cargos in
Mexico City? You don't have them
there, but people are still good Catholics."

[773] Myths and experiences with the super-
natural are usually believed, and some-
times even wonder stories, but the attitude
of doubt described before is also found.

Although agraristas or radicals dismiss folk beliefs as superstitions, the prevalent pattern by which folk beliefs disappear is not through lack of belief but by some sort of explanation within the accepted ideology as to why behavior based on the disappearing belief is not found any more. Thus we see in belief the same trend as in the cult, where the tendency is toward a more orthodox Catholicism. Examples follow:

539 In Zopoco there are no rich men because the town Christ "does not allow the *japíŋgua* to operate", i. e., compacts with the Devil.

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754 Jarácuaro used to be famous as a center of
778 witchcraft. Prospective witches entered a cave
behind the Church to make a compact with
538 the Devil and learn their art. The present lack
of witches is attributed to the fact that the
entrance to the cave has been covered: "Form-
erly there were witches because God allowed
it. Now he stopped it. What there are now are
some magicians who learn in books, but God
does not allow many of them. Otherwise with
so many books as there are, there would be
many magicians and all of them would be
causing evil."

• • • •

776 Elves are no longer seen because the Pope
539 condemned them together with other devils to
go back to hell; and they have not been seen
thereafter.

• • • •

821 In Cocúcho there were many thunderstorms
539 over a certain mountain. "A priest went and
blessed a cave in the mountain. A thunder-
783 storm destroyed the cave. They said many
people were seen leaving the mountain; they

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783 were crying and saying people did not care for them any more; they went to Tierra Caliente."

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539 "Nowadays a dead man's finger is no longer
[778] good. In olden times it was useful because miracles still were possible. Now it is all finished, or maybe they were saints? Who knows?"

668 In this Catholic group, the people who have the most contacts with the outside world are not, like the agraristas, those more closely related to the government or school, but those who attend sinarquista rallies even as far away as Morelia or Guadalajara, or send boys to study for the priesthood. Like the agraristas, they are more closely connected with national life than the traditionalists, but they represent a different kind of allegiance to national institutions.

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182 The folk culture of the Tarascan communities has been characterized economically and socially and the main traits of the
771 folk religion have been described. To the extent that the local communities have an economic and social life independent of the external world, an ideology of its own is typical of the folk culture. It is associated mainly with unorganized religion and the celebration and organization of the local Catholic cult. To the extent that the local community is part of a wider society

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and the cult is also part of the national Catholic cult, we find acceptance of two kinds of outside opinions. Some people rely more than before on the authority of the Church in questions of belief, while others criticize the Church in the same manner as the anticlericals throughout the country.

With the decline of the purely folk aspects of the local culture and the community's becoming increasingly part of the external world, come the decay of religious beliefs centering around and sanctioning these folk elements, and the growth of national aspects of culture, either through connection with the Church or with anticlerical groups.

To the decline of some local cult forms and of cargos as their manner of organization, corresponds (in the realm of ideology) a lack of belief in folk concepts, resulting in either the acceptance of more orthodox Catholicism or doubt in religion in general.

This is the trend by which the folk culture seems to begin to disappear. But as in the village economy and organization of religion, these trends are not carried to the end. The traditional folklore which sanctions folk culture still has meaning, and evidence that for some people it is still alive is seen in its being used against the disruptive tendencies personified in the agraristas.

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CONCLUSIONS

128 The arrangement followed in the presentation of this material was imposed by the nature of the data. Sources for the different periods or for the national or local scenes were unequal. Thus it was necessary to examine each topic separately (economics and politics, cult organization, ideology) as it changed during the period considered rather than to follow, through successive historical stages, all the topics of Tarascan culture under discussion. A presentation of the latter sort will be attempted in this summary of conclusions.

185 177 For a point of departure we took the folk culture of the Indian communities formed during the colonial period by a blend of Spanish and Indian cultures. This culture is typical of the colonial period but its basic elements often survived into much later times, and even to the present in marginal areas. These communities were integrated with the economy of Mexico by paying tribute (or taxes), by the market, and by providing laborers for enterprises outside the local community. A great degree of economic autonomy, however, provided in each town a basis for the distinctive folk culture. It was characterized by communal landownership, agricultural techniques based on local resources and requiring the cooperation of all the villagers, the importance of household crafts, little differentiation as to wealth among the villagers, and production, for the most part, for consumption within the village or for the local market.

105 621 The local government organs were under the ultimate control of higher national authorities, but had a wide range of autonomy.

771 [796] Catholicism, the state religion, was also the religion of the local community, and the priest was supported by the village with the sanction of the State. But an important part of religion was peculiar to the local folk culture: unorganized rites around technological and life cycle activities, and also what we call folk Catholicism, folk acts of the cult, mainly festivals to the saints. A number of officers sponsoring and organizing these festivals were closely connected with the local government.

794 Cult financing was provided for by the produce or communal property devoted to

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794 religious expenses or by contributions from all the villagers as a group or from an individual sponsor.

771 Religious ideology in this period must have had a considerable number of ideas related to the unorganized religion, probably non-ethical and based on the personification of Nature. The Catholic ideology dominated, however. Ethical in character, it sanctioned such folk culture values as the family, small property, the Indian way of life and proper observance of the folk cult. But it also sanctioned national institutions: support of the priest and the Church and the national order which the Church in its turn supports.

621 These communities began to decline in the face of other growing segments of the
178 society (primarily the haciendas), and tendencies disrupting the folk culture became evident within the communities. Forces for change were active from early colonial times in advanced areas but at a much later date in backward areas such as parts of the Tarascan region. They became strongest with the capitalist development of Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century.

423 The loss of Indian lands to haciendas diminished the importance of the Indian
182 communities within the country. Within the Indian communities the economic im-
178 pact of this development caused the abolition of communal property and the more complete individualization of landownership, the decline of crafts, more work on outside farms, increased dependency on the market, and wealth differences among the villagers.

771 After the separation of Church and State, the old system of organizing the religious cult no longer had State sanction. With new systems of local government the religious officers became less connect-
[794] ed with the civil. Cult financing came to be done almost exclusively through personal contributions by sponsors, and, given the changing economic order, it constituted a
[735] burden which often led to impoverishment and the loss of land.

182 The factors disrupting the folk culture are evident in the folk ideology as it con-
178 demns money and wealth. With increased dependence on the outside world came

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178 668 the content of folklore and this folklore is used to prove agrarista wickedness.

The other group which seems to prevail is more closely connected with the Church politically. This group restores the cult but the old causes for decline of the folk religion are seen in their policy. They sometimes oppose individual sponsorships and attendant celebrations. New forms are used for organizing and financing festivals through the cooperation of all villagers. The folk cult tends to come under stricter control of the priest (tending towards greater orthodoxy) or of the civil authorities (towards secularization of the celebration). In the realm of ideology there is lack of belief in part of the folk ideas, but a basic belief and acceptance of the Church authority are kept. In belief, as in the celebrations of the cult, a more orthodox Catholicism is evident.

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One can see clearly the forces of change which might lead to the almost complete disappearance of the folk religion: lack of sponsors for folk festivals and a consequent decline in the festivals, some disappearing and others becoming secular affairs; lack of belief in folk narratives, leading to obsolescence or to their becoming non-religious narratives; and acceptance of outside anti-clerical policies or of strict Church control in questions of religion. But as long as the economic basis of the communities persists, some amount of folk religion will also survive. The extremist anticlerical position of the agraristas could not take root. The present Catholic reaction against them represents the balance of change, effecting neither complete disappearance of the folk religion nor a preservation of the old order. Nevertheless, the old factors for change continue in operation. The conflict between conservative and disruptive tendencies goes on and a stable integration can not be attained.

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Throughout this process of change the interplay of local and national factors is all the time evident. The changing folk culture of a local community can be understood only by relating the trends arising out of local conditions to the development of the nation of which the folk community forms a part.